

In fact, the thought that Arrian's renunciation here displays his belief in the irrelevance of *πατρὶς, γένος, and ἀρχαί* for the writing of non-contemporary history (as Breebaart and Schepens⁴¹ had suggested) is not only consistent with Moles' appreciation of the Greek aspects of the second preface⁴² but is also borne out by a consideration of the tradition of autobiographical remarks in Greek historiography. The different conventions for those who write contemporary and non-contemporary history may be summarized as follows. Beginning with Thucydides, writers of contemporary history aver their contemporaneity with the events they narrate. This is their guarantee of accuracy. Those who write non-contemporary history state that they have used excellent sources or a fine style or both. Those who write large-scale histories that cover contemporary and non-contemporary events blend the two, claiming superiority of treatment for the earlier part and contemporaneity for the later parts.⁴³ The adoption by Greek historians in the imperial period of referring to offices and honours given them is a direct influence from Roman historiography, where career and offices were discussed and given as affirmation of the author's social standing and (simultaneously) as voucher for his trustworthiness. The convention was an accepted part of Roman historiography; it was more problematic among the Greeks. Arrian's refusal to indulge in it in the *Anabasis*, whatever else it may accomplish, re-asserts the primacy of the subject matter;⁴⁴ it rejects something that was part of a Roman tradition, and that properly had no part in a work about the greatest Greek meant for Greeks. What replaces this, of course, are the *λόγοι*, and the devotion that Arrian has given them from his youth.⁴⁵

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⁴¹ Breebaart (n. 21) 17; G. Schepens, *Ancient Society* ii (1971) 265–6.

⁴² Moles 165–6.

⁴³ *Contemporary*: Thuc. i 1.1, v 26.5; Herodian i 2.5; Jos., *Bf* i 3; cf. Theopompus, *FGrH* 115 F 342. *Non-contemporary*: Diod. i 4.2–4; D. Hal., *AR* i 7.2–4. *Mixed*: Polybius i 14–15, iii 4.13, iv 2.1; Dio i 1.2, liii 19.6, lxxii 18.3–4. Other common prooemial themes are expense (Theopompus, Timaeus), hardship (Timaeus, Polybius, Diodorus), or danger (Polybius, Diodorus), but these are limited to large-scale histories and do not pertain to Arrian.

⁴⁴ Schepens (n. 41) 262–6.

⁴⁵ I am grateful to two readers of the *Journal* for their helpful comments and criticisms.

Eastern *Alimenta* and an Inscription of Attaleia

A characteristic phenomenon of the High Empire, though it is found both earlier and later, is the alimentary scheme, whereby foundations established by emperors or private persons provide a kind of family allowance for the children of free-born but not wealthy parents.¹ Though such schemes may well have had

I am grateful to Glen Bowersock and to an anonymous referee for *JHS* for their comments.

¹ I use the following special abbreviations: Balland=A. Balland,

Hellenistic antecedents, the earliest known example is from Julio-Claudian Italy, where T. Helvius Basila, a senator from Atina, leaves 400,000 sesterces to his fellow-citizens 'ut liberis eorum ex redivo, dum in aetatem pervenirent, frumentum et postea sestertia singula milia darentur'.²

In the second century, probably beginning with Nerva, alimentary schemes become part of the system of imperial benefactions, and their workings are attested for many cities of Italy by inscriptions and by letters of the younger Pliny.³ On the present evidence, the first emperor to extend the imperial *alimenta* to the Greek East is Hadrian. At Antinoopolis, a papyrus dated to 151 mentions as one of the emperor's benefactions that 'he wished the children of the Antinoopolites to be nourished when registered by the parents within thirty days of their birth' (ἐβουλήθη τρέφεισθαι τὰ τῶν Ἀντινοείων [τέκνα τὰ] ἀπογραφόμενα ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν γονέων ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ἀφ' ἧς ἐὰν γένηται).⁴ An Athenian inscription dated to Hadrian's reign (or perhaps to the beginning of Pius) involves what may be an *obligatio praediorum* similar to those found in the imperial *alimenta* of Italy.⁵ Cassius Dio reports that Hadrian 'granted yearly grain' (σίτον ἐτήσιον ἐχαρίσαστο) to Athens, but this sounds more like a gift in kind than an alimentary scheme, though he could have assisted the city's food supply in more ways than one.⁶ When the same emperor is honored by the assembly of the united Greeks as their 'saviour who has rescued and nourished his own Hellas' (σωτήρι, ῥυσαμένῳ καὶ θρέψαντι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ Ἑλλάδα), that also seems to refer to an outright gift of grain, and the same is true when the cities of Megara and Cyrene honor him as their *κτίστες, nomothetes, and tropheus*.⁷

Several inscriptions, all from Lycia or Pamphylia, and all of them either certainly or possibly of the first half of the second century, refer to alimentary schemes instituted by wealthy *privati*. At Sillyon in Pamphylia a certain Menodora sets up a foundation in the name of her son Megacles εἰς παίδων τροφᾶς.⁸ At Oenoanda in north-western Lycia, Licinnius Longus establishes a foundation for 250 παῖδες καὶ παρθένοι of the city.

Fouilles de Xanthos vii: *Inscriptions d'époque impériale du Létion* (Paris 1981); *Bull.* = J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique*, appearing almost every year between 1938 and 1984 in *REG*; Duncan-Jones = R. P. Duncan-Jones, *The economy of the Roman Empire*² (Cambridge 1982); Garnsey = P. Garnsey, *Famine and food supply in the Graeco-Roman world* (Cambridge 1988). On the *alimenta* generally, Duncan-Jones, Chapter 7 and Appendixes 3–6; for the Greek evidence, Balland, 195–8.

² *CIL* x 5056 (*ILS* 977); on the date of Helvius Basila, *PIR*² H 67; S. Mitchell, *Chiron* xvi (1986) 19–20, 22–5.

³ Pliny, *Epp.* i 8.10, vii 18.

⁴ H. I. Bell, *Aegyptus* xiii (1933) 518 lines 4–5; *SB* 7602; further bibliography in Balland, 196.

⁵ Athens: *IG* ii² 2776, re-edited and restudied by S. J. Miller, *Hesperia* xli (1972) 50–95, especially 87–91 on the purpose; cf. Balland, 196.

⁶ Cass. Dio lxix 16.2, cf. M. Wörle, *Chiron* i (1971) 335 n. 44, A. J. Spawforth and S. Walker, *JRS* lxxv (1985) 90. For the various ways in which emperors assisted the food supply of cities other than Rome, Wörle, *art. cit.* 324–40 (*Bull.* 1972, 392), Garnsey, 251–7.

⁷ Greeks: *SIG*³ 835 A; *F. Delphes* iii 4 (4), p. 152 n. 6. Megara: *IG* vii 70–2. Cyrene: J. M. Reynolds, *PBSR* xxvi (1958) 164, with the restorations and discussion of J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1960, 438. For Hadrian's gifts of grain to cities of the empire, Cass. Dio lxix 5.3.

⁸ *IGRom* iii 800–1; Bean, *Side Kitabeleri* (Ankara 1965) no. 191, shown to be from Sillyon by J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1967, 606.

Though the text breaks off before revealing the donor's intention, the figure of 250 recalls alimentary schemes of Italy and North Africa involving a *numerus clausus* of beneficiaries: thus at Tarracina a benefactress leaves a million sesterces in memory of her son for the support of 100 boys and 100 girls.⁹ A recently published inscription from the Letoon of Xanthos includes the following among the gifts of an unnamed benefactor:¹⁰

- 24 τὰ δὲ τέκνα πάντα τῶν πολιτῶν παιδεύ-
ει τε καὶ τρέφει, ἔτεσιν μὲν (16) αὐτὸς ἀνα-
δεξάμενος τὴν φροντίδα, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ
κτῆσεις καὶ ἀργύρια ἀνοθεὶς πῆι πόλει σὺν
30 ἐνιαυτοῦ προεσθήκη, ὥστε ἐκ τῆς προσόδου
εἰς αἰῶνα τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ φυλάσσεσθαι.

He provides for the education and the nurture of all the children of the citizens, having personally undertaken the task for sixteen years, and thereafter having assigned to the city properties and money with preliminary funds for one year, so that from the income his charity may be preserved in perpetuity.

An inscription of Attaleia in Pamphylia, not yet satisfactorily elucidated, is arguably to be understood in a similar context. Here is the text of the last editor to have seen the stone, G. E. Bean:¹¹

- Λούκιον [Κέλερα]
[Μ]ἄρκον Καλ[πούριον]
Λόγγον, χιλία[ρχον πλατύση-]
4 μον λεγεῶν[ος πρώτης Ἴτα-]
λικῆς, πρεσβε[υτήν Πόντου]
καὶ Βιθυνίας, [πρεσβευτήν]
[Ἀ]χάϊας, ὑπ[άτον, τὰ οἰκε-(?)]
8 τικά παιδιά τὰ [ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνα-]
[τ]ρεφόμενα [τὸν ἑαυτῶν αἰ-]
ώνιον τροφ[έα τε καὶ πά-]
τρωνα καὶ εἰυεργέτην.]

The first seven lines, naming the honarand with his Roman *cursus*, are comparatively straightforward, though πρεσβευτήν in line 6 is not assured (ταμίαν and ἀνθύπατον have also been suggested),¹² and ὑπάτον in line 7 is odd if no previous magistracy had been mentioned. This person, who appears in another inscription of the city with the *nomen Marcus* preceding *Celer*, must be a descendant (or connected with descendants) of M. Calpurnius Rufus, legate of Lycia and Pamphylia under Claudius. That man's son was called L. Calpurnius Longus, and the present honarand, though he might be Longus' son, should rather belong to a later generation; his entire nomenclature is taken over by the senator Ti. Claudius Flavianus of Patara, who flourished between 161 and 169, so that Flavianus

was perhaps adopted by Celer.¹³ It may also be noted that a second Calpurnius Rufus was proconsul of Achaea under Hadrian: since provincial governors sometimes took relatives on their staffs, Marcus Celer might conceivably have acted as his quaestor or legate.¹⁴

The inscription was first published by Emil Bosch, who read only a few syllables in lines 8 through 10. The articulation of the text and most of the wording were recovered by J. and L. Robert in their discussion of Bosch's publication; and they commented, 'il s'agit de ces θρεπτοὶ si fréquemment mentionnés dans les inscriptions (cf. *Bull.* 1939, 35; 1946/47, 37). On a donc dans le cas présent un renseignement sur leur condition; leur τροφεύς est aussi leur patron.'¹⁵ In general Bean followed the Roberts, but with two important innovations: [οἰκε(?)]τικά in line 7 and [αἰ]ώνιον in line 9. For the first he invoked the phrase οἰκετικά σώματα from *IG* xii 5 no. 653, lines 25–6, a Hellenistic decree of Syros; but the Roberts rejected it on the ground that the latter phrase was a polite circumlocution for 'slaves' and would not suit the present context, though they did not suggest an alternative.¹⁶

In their original discussion, the Roberts evidently assumed that the inscription was of a private character, though set up in a public place. The word θρεπτός is notoriously difficult to define, but always refers to a person with some kind of dependent status within a household.¹⁷ A well known exchange between Pliny and Trajan seems to indicate that θρεπτοὶ were of free birth, but had been exposed and brought up by others as their slaves; but in inscriptions θρεπτός is demonstrably used of slaves born and bred in the house (οἰκογενεῖς, ἐνδογενεῖς) and one θρεπτή is said to have been purchased.¹⁸ The word τροφεύς which appears in line 10 of the inscription of Attaleia is elastic, but this too can be used in the private sphere, where it denotes slaves or freedmen who had been entrusted with the rearing of their masters' children, such as the τροφεῖς of the sophist Aelius Aristides. It is possible that the word was also used of the master of θρεπτοὶ, whether exposed or house-born, but I do not know of an example: by contrast θρέψας is common in this sense.¹⁹

So far the discussion has proceeded on the assumption that the inscription of Attaleia is private in nature, and that the παιδιά are domestic dependents. But there is another hypothesis which perhaps explains the phenomena better, and also provides a restoration of the word

¹³ M. Calpurnius Rufus: Halfmann (previous n.) 101 no. 2. L. Calpurnius Longus: Halfmann 105 no. 10. Ti. Claudius Flavianus: Halfmann 184 no. 107. For this suggestion about his connection with Calpurnius Longus, *Bull.* 1948, 229, discussing no. 21; cf. S. Jameson, *Anat. Stud.* xvi (1966) 134.

¹⁴ *Dig.* i 16.10; *PIR*² C 311, 313.

¹⁵ Bosch, *Türk Tarihi Kurumu Belleten* xi (1947) 104–5 no. 21; *Bull.* 1948, 229 (p. 202).

¹⁶ *Bull.* 1939, 447 (pp. 254–5).

¹⁷ G. Sacco, *Settima Miscellanea greca e romana* (Rome 1980) 271–86, gives a good discussion of θρεπτός and related words such as τροφεύς: see now also B. Levick and S. Mitchell, *Monuments from the Aezanitis*, *MAMA* ix (London 1988) lxiv–lxvi.

¹⁸ Pliny: *Epp.* x 65–6. θρεπτοὶ οἰκογενεῖς: *IG* vii 3376 (Chaeronea), G. Colin, *BCH* xxii (1898) 87, no. 83 line 4 (*F. Delphes* iii 6, no. 27). Peina, the θερατρανίδιον οἰκογενεῖς of *POxy.* 1 3555, is surely a θρεπτή. A θρεπτή purchased: *Bull.* 1969, 364 (Leucopetra).

¹⁹ Aristid. *Or.* xlvii 27, 66–77, xlix 3, etc. (Zosimos), xlix 15 (Neritos), l 54 (Epagathos). Cf. Sacco (n. 17) 273–8.

⁹ Oenoanda: *IGRom* iii 492 lines 15–16; cf. Balland 196, 197 n. 181. Tarracina: *CIL* x 6328 (*ILS* 6278); cf. the figure of 300 at Veleia (Duncan-Jones 309) and probably 600 at Sicca Veneria (*CIL* viii 1641; *ILS* 6818).

¹⁰ Balland 186 no. 67. Balland identifies the benefactor with the great Opramoas of Oenoanda: J. J. Coulton, *JHS* cvii (1987) 171–8, argues that he must remain anonymous.

¹¹ Bean, *Türk Tarihi Kurumu Belleten* xxii (1958) 27–8 no. 13 (whence *SEG* xvii 570, *Ann. épigr.* 1972, 620).

¹² For these suggestions, H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum*, *Hypomnemata* lviii (Göttingen 1979) 143; *PIR*² M 221.

ending -τικά in line 8. This is that the inscription is a public one, that Marcius Celer is the founder of an alimentary scheme, and that the παῖδια are the beneficiaries.

Several of the alimentary inscriptions of Italy are on statue-bases set up by *pueri puellaeque alimentari* to the emperors, or in one case to a *quaestor alimentorum*.²⁰ In alimentary schemes such as that of Basila at Atina, of Hadrian at Antinoopolis, and of the unnamed benefactor at Xanthos, the children who benefit are the offspring of citizens. If the same is assumed here, then the word ending -τικά in line 8 should be, not [οἰκε]τικά, but one of equal length, [πολι]τικά, perhaps spelled [πολει]τικά. Liddell and Scott cite an inscription of Naples which shows that in the local Sebasta there was a class of entrants called παῖδες πολιτικοί, 'boys with citizen fathers', just as there was a class of βουλευτῶν θυγατέρες, 'daughters of councillors'.²¹ If the restoration [τὰ πολι]τικά παῖδια τὰ [ὑπ'] αὐτοῦ ἀνα[τρεφόμενα] is correct, the syntax may imply that, unlike the foundation at Xanthos, this one involved a *numerus clausus* of beneficiaries, as did that of Licinnius Longus at Oenoanda (if it was alimentary) and several of the western foundations.²² In lines 8–9 the word [αἰ]ώνιον, restored by Bean, now receives its natural interpretation. When applied to liturgists, this word implies that the person had established, or had had established in his name, a foundation of which the revenues were to help defray the expenses of the position in perpetuity: thus the unknown benefactor at Xanthos set up his scheme εἰς αἰῶνα.²³ Lastly, τροφέα. Using coins, inscriptions, and literature, Louis Robert collected a large number of references to wealthy citizens honored as *tropheis* for having supplied grain to their cities, to visitors or to a whole region such as Lycia.²⁴ In none of Robert's instances is the word *tropheus* clearly to be applied to the founders of alimentary schemes, rather than to men who had made outright gifts of grain (or of funds to buy it); but the word can no doubt cover such a scheme, and indeed the benefactor at Xanthos is praised for 'educating and nurturing' (παιδεύειν καὶ τρέφειν) the recipients of his generosity. In short, the inscription of Attaleia is to be understood as a public one, set up by the children of citizens in honor of a Roman senator who had established an alimentary foundation for their benefit.

The alimentary schemes of Lycia and Pamphylia, if the present argument is correct, are attested in Oenoanda, Xanthos, Attaleia and Sillyon, and where they can be dated belong to the reign of Hadrian or

slightly later. On the present evidence, they are the only private alimentary foundations known in the Greek east. Why these two regions, which during most of the principate formed a single province, should have a concentration of such schemes is unclear: but both were very productive of grain, and their urban élites, being highly Romanised, might have been receptive to a type of benefaction favoured by Nerva and his successors.²⁵ As for L. Marcius Celer and his scheme at Attaleia, as a member of the oldest senatorial family known from the province he must have had many connections with Italy, the apparent source of alimentary schemes; if he served in Greece under Hadrian, first-hand knowledge of the emperor's benefactions there may have provided an additional stimulus.²⁶

It is curious that Pamphylia also yields what may be the only epigraphical evidence for the imperial *alimenta* of the late empire. A fourth-century statue-base at Side carries the inscription Ἀνατροφή Αὐγ(οὔστα). This was understood by the first editor to refer to an otherwise unknown empress, but Robert and others have pointed out that it is a personification of imperial nurture. The *Theodosian Code* shows that there were still *alimenta* in the reign of Constantine: but while this inscription may imply such a scheme at Side, it might refer to a system more like the Roman *frumentationes*, such as is attested in Oxyrhynchos in the later third century.²⁷

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²⁵ It has been suggested to me that there is a parallel in the *sitometroumenoi*, a *numerus clausus* of citizens receiving grain, attested in certain cities of Lycia under Hadrian and Pius, but the nature and origin of this phenomenon are disputed: Balland, 213–21; Garnsey, 262–5; M. Wörle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*, *Vestigia* xlix (Munich 1988) 124–30.

²⁶ It appears to be a pure coincidence that the senator T. Helvius Basila (above, at n. 2) is attested in an inscription of Attaleia as governor of Galatia-Pamphylia: S. Mitchell, *Chiron* xvi (1986) 23–5.

²⁷ Bean, *Side Agorasi ve Civarindaki Binalar* (Ankara 1956) no. 47, with the discussion of Robert, *Rev. Phil.* xli (1967) 82–4; cf. also *Bull.* 1977, 519; Balland, 196 n. 177 (on p. 197). Constantine: *Cod. Theod.* xi 27.1–2. Oxyrhynchos: Balland, 218–21; Garnsey, 265–6.

Odysseus on the Niobid Krater

(PLATES II–III)

This paper began with a seminar given in 1973 by David Gordon Mitten. His help and that of many others at Harvard, the University of Michigan and at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens has been of great value. In particular, I would like to acknowledge the helpful criticisms of Martin Robertson, Evelyn Harrison and Vincent Bruno; my obstinacies are of course my own.

The Niobid krater has been the object of perceptive discussion since its first publication. The works of earlier scholars referred to most often in the text are listed below and cited by the author's name alone:

Barron, J., 'New light on old walls: The murals of the Theseion', *JHS* xcii (1972) 20–45.

Christos, Ch., 'Ho Polygnotos kai mia angeiographia me epeisodion ek tis Homerikis Nekyias', *AE* (1957) 168–226.

Jakobsthal, P., 'The Nekyia krater in New York', *Metropolitan Museum Studies* v (1935) 117–45.

Jeppesen, K., 'Eteokleous Symbasis', *Acta Jutlandica* xl, no. 3 (1968).

Simon, E., 'Polygnotan painting and the Niobid Painter', *AJA* lxxii (1963) 43–62, with bibliography.

Six, J., 'Mikon's fourth painting in the Theseion', *JHS* xxxix (1919) 130–43.

²⁰ For such statues, Duncan-Jones 301–2; for a *quaestor alimentorum* so honored, *CIL* xi 5395 (*ILS* 6620: Asisium); for the expression *pueri puellaeque alimentari*, *CIL* ix 5700, xi 5957, 5989 (*ILS* 328), xiv 4003 (*ILS* 6225); in *CIL* xi 6002 *alimentari* is used alone.

²¹ Naples: *IG* xiv 748 lines 5–6 (*IGRom* i 449), G. Buchner, *Par. Pass.* vii (1952) 408 (*Bull.* 1955, 300b; *SEG* xiv 602; cf. L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* [Rome 1953] pp. 168–9). Cf. R. M. Geer, *TAPA* lxvi (1935) 211, citing the expression πολιται παῖδες from the entries in a contest at Carian Aphrodisias (*CIG* 2758 A ii lines 4–5).

²² Above, at n. 9. Balland, 197–8, argues that alimentary foundations in the Greek east were characteristically civic and egalitarian, those of the west (including the imperial *alimenta*) exclusive: but if the present arguments are accepted, this distinction will appear too schematic.

²³ A. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, *Denkschr. Wien* xlv 6 (Vienna 1896) 153–4; L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure méridionale* (Paris 1966) 83–5.

²⁴ Robert, *Hellenica* vii (1949) 74–81, xi/xii (1960) 569–73.